

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 H-01 INR-05 IO-03 L-01 PRS-01

SAJ-01 SAM-01 CIAE-00 SP-02 RSC-01 OIC-01 /040 W

----- 065872

R 141130Z DEC 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9653

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY MADRID

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 7461

LIMDIS NOFORN

MADRID HOLD FOR LOWENSTEIN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: SOVIETS COMPLAIN OF US SUPPORT FOR FRG ON PEACEFUL
CHANGE LANGUAGE

1. AT LUNCH DEC. 13 HOSTED BY SOVIET DELEGATION HEAD KOVALEV FOR USDEL, SOVIETS PLACED GREAT EMPHASIS ON PEACEFUL CHANGES OF FRONTIERS FORMULATION, PROBABLY REACTING TO REPORTS CIRCULATING HERE THAT US IS NOW PREPARED TO SUPPORT FRG POSITION ON THIS ISSUE. KOVALEV COMPLAINED THAT US ACTION IN TABLING NEW FORMULATION ON JULY 26 WAS INCONSISTENT WITH OUR STATEMENTS TO EFFECT THAT THIS IS AN ISSUE OF PRIMARY CONCERN TO FRG, AND SHOULD BE WORKED OUT BETWEEN THE SOVIETS AND FRG. IF WE WERE SINCERELY NOT INTERESTED IN THE ISSUE, WE SHOULD WITHDRAW OUR PROPOSAL, HE ARGUED. WE RESPONDED THAT THIS WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR US GIVEN THE HIGH LEVEL OF INTEREST IN THIS MATTER ON THE PART OF OUR WEST GERMAN ALLIES. WE REVIEWED HISTORY OF PEACEFUL CHANGE
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LANGUAGE, NOTING FRG RESERVATION AT TIME OF REGISTRATION

OF APRIL 5 LANGUAGE, M ORIGIN OF JULY 26 "US FORMULATION", AND FACT THAT SOVIETS HAD SUBSEQUENTLY GIVEN US THREE DIFFERENT ALTERNATIVE FORMULATIONS. WE POINTED OUT THAT FRG WAS NOT THE ONLY COUNTRY WHICH HAS DIFFICULTIES WITH APRIL 5 TEXT: UK FEELS IT DOES NOT ALLOW FOR PEACEFUL CHANGES IN FRONTIERS WHICH RESULT FROM ARBITRATION.

2. KOVALEV ARGUED STRENUOUSLY THAT FRG HAS NOT DEALT WITH SOVIETS IN GOOD FAITH, AND COMPLAINED THAT WHEN SOVIETS TRIED TO PERSUADE FRG REPS TO CHANGE OR WITHDRAW THE JULY 26 FORMULA FRG REPS RESPONDED THAT THEY COULD NOT DO SO BECAUSE IT IS A US PROPOSAL. ON THE OTHER HAND THE US HAS TAKEN THE VIEW THAT THIS IS A MATTER PRIMARILY FOR THE FRG AND SOVIETS TO WORK OUT. WE REPLIED THAT WHILE OBVIOUSLY FRG HAS A PRIMARY AND FUNDAMENTAL INTEREST IN THIS POINT, WHICH PLACES A LIMIT ON POSITIONS AND ACTIONS WE CAN TAKE, WE ARE ALWAYS PREPARED TO TRY TO HELP TO RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM SATISFACTORILY, WITHIN OUR LIMITATIONS. KOVALEV CONCLUDED THAT HIS INSTRUCTIONS OBLIGE HIM TO STICK WITH APRIL 5 REGISTERED TEXT ON PEACEFUL CHANGE AND THAT HIS DELEGATION WILL BE UNABLE TO ACCEPT ANY CHANGE IN THIS FORMULATION OTHER THAN MOST RECENT GROMYKO OFFER. HE AGAIN REQUESTED THAT THE US WITHDRAW ITS JULY 26 FORMULATION AND ALLOW SOVIETS TO SETTLE THIS MATTER DIRECTLY WITH THE FRG.

4. COMMENT: WE BELIEVE KOVALEV'S STRONG DEMARCHE MAY SIGNAL START OF MAJOR SOVIET DRIVE ON PEACEFUL CHANGE ISSUE. SOVIETS MAY BE RESPONDING TO REPORTS CURRENTLY CIRCULATING HERE TO EFFECT THAT US AGREED DURING RECENT SCHMIDT VISIT TO WASHINGTON TO TAKE UP PEACEFUL CHANGE MATTER AGAIN WITH SOVIETS. FRG DEL HEAD (BLECH) TOLD EC-NINE CAUCUS HERE THAT US HAD COMMITTED ITSELF IN WASHINGTON TO RAISE MATTER AGAIN WITH SOVIETS. AT THE SAME TIME, KOVALEV'S STATEMENT THAT HE WILL NOT GO BEYOND LATEST GROMYKO FORMULATION REMINDS US OF HIS INSISTENCE LAST YEAR THAT HE "COULD NOT GO ONE MILLIMETER BEYOND" ORIGINAL SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR THIS PHRASE, WHICH WAS SUBSEQUENTLY CHANGED CONSIDERABLY BEFORE REGISTRATION OF APRIL 5 LANGUAGE. END COMMENT.

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5. WE HAVE BEEN INFORMED BY FRENCH DEL THAT SOVIETS ALSO APPEALED DURING RAMBOUILLET MEETINGS FOR ASSISTANCE IN PERSUADING FRG TO ACCEPT SOVIET POSITION ON PEACEFUL CHANGE. FRENCH SAY THEY REFUSED TO DO THIS AND TOLD SOVIETS THEY WOULD CONTINUE TO FOLLOW FRG LEAD ON THIS ISSUE. DALE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, DEMARCHE, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 DEC 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974GENEVA07461
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740364-0170
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741234/aaaabczr.tel
Line Count: 113
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 06 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <06 MAY 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <28 MAR 2003 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: SOVIETS COMPLAIN OF US SUPPORT FOR FRG ON PEACEFUL CHANGE LANGUAGE
TAGS: PFOR, XG, US, GE, FR, CSCE, (KOVALEV)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005